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ABSTRACT

This comparison of the development of bilingual education policies and practices presents the legal framework of Peruvian and American policies, the processes of their establishment, and bilingual program implementation. The sociocultural and historical circumstances out of which the policies grew and which the bilingual programs reflect are also examined. The document includes a historical review of how the languages and their speakers produced the situations to which policies and practices now respond. Long-range implications for the linguistic state of the societies and the degree of mutual versus unidirectional influences of the languages are outlined. It is concluded that while the aim of the language policies and practices in both countries is the social integration of members of ethnic groups heretofore at least partially socially disenfranchised, the differences between the countries, growing from attitudes toward bilingualism and monolingualism in the socially dominant group, reveal what each society feels is required to achieve integration. (MSE)

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A Comparison of Bilingual Education Policies and Practices in Perú and the United States

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Liliana Minaya-Rowe

This paper compares the development of bilingual education policies and practices in the United States and Perú. It presents the legal framework of the Peruvian and American policies, the processes of their establishment, and their bilingual program implementation. It also provides the sociocultural and historical circumstances out of which the policies grew and which bilingual programs reflect. Included is a historical review of how the languages and their speakers produced the situations toward which policies and practices now respond. Finally, this paper presents implications for long-term results in terms of the final linguistic state of the societies and the degree of mutual versus unidirectional influence of the languages involved.

Although in the history of the pluralistic societies of the world, multilingualism has been a frequent occurrence in social life, in modern nation states the ideas of public language policy and publicly sponsored bilingual education practices are relatively new (Bratt Paulston, 1980; Leibowitz, 1982; Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi, 1986). Such policies and practices have been motivated by diverse political, social, and ideological considerations in different countries; have been received variously; and have produced different outcomes in the societies involved.

This paper deals with how multilingualism is handled in two societies: Perú and the United States; how these two countries

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generated their public language policies; and how they are sustaining bilingual education practices. Although it is not intended to provide a thorough cross-cultural review of bilingual education policies and practices here, this paper presents a comparison of the bilingual education policies and programs and the sociocultural circumstances surrounding them. Both programs and the policies they reflect were established approximately contemporaneously, but inasmuch as they emerged from radically different sociocultural-political circumstances, they may make an interesting comparison.

I will begin by looking at the legal frameworks of the Peruvian and the United States bilingual education policies and programs, the processes of their establishment, and their implementation. Because these two programs do not exist in a vacuum—that is, unrelated to any sociocultural matters—and because this review will show increasing divergence between the two programs the further I proceed from purely legal frameworks, I will then provide a look at the sociocultural—including the historical—contexts out of which each program grew and which each, of course, reflects. Finally, I will consider some of the differential effects each program is having in light of its stated aims and inferable long-term goals.

LEGAL FRAMEWORKS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

The legal frameworks of the United States and Peruvian bilingual programs look quite similar on the surface. They reflect deliberate efforts by both governments to affect language education and the functions of the languages spoken in each country (Ogbu, 1983). In the United States, the current national Bilingual Education Act, which was set in 1965, "gives official federal and/or state sanction or recognition to providing special educational services to limited English proficient (LEP) or non-English proficient (NEP) students" (Public Law 95-561, as amended in 1978, p. 1). Likewise, the Peruvian legal framework for bilingual education, which was set in place in 1972, instructed the Ministry of Education to "provide instruction in their own language to students who come to school speaking little or no Spanish" (Education Law of 1972, p. 12). However, if one looks at the processes—the means by which these laws came to be in the two countries—one begins to see the tip of the iceberg of sociocultural-historical differences involved.

In the United States, although there have been scattered historical instances—usually private but occasionally public—of bilingual education programs in bilingual communities, the initial national sanction for such programs came through the Bilingual Education Acts of 1968, 1974, 1978, and 1981 (Leibowitz, 1982; Padilla, 1983). These Acts had been stimulated by the court challenges brought by citizens or citizens' groups claiming discrimination on the basis of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The 1964 Civil Rights Act, in turn, had been engendered by court decisions brought by plaintiffs claiming discrimination on the basis of violations of their rights to equal educational opportunity as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

In other words, there would be *no* bilingual education policies and practices and probably only private or miniscule public bilingual education programs in the United States were it not for the individual efforts of private citizens challenging an existing state of social affairs in relation to an abstract principle voiced in the Constitution. Furthermore, it is evident that not just one challenge and not just one precedent-setting decision would have been sufficient to establish bilingual education policies and programs nationally in the United States. This process has had to be repeated in the various localities where bilingualism or non-English monolingualism (for instance, Spanish monolingualism or Chinese monolingualism) is present. The first court decisions led Congress to pass the education act that directed the establishment of bilingual education programs. However, even with the law on the books, subsequent actions have been necessary to get programs started in specific localities or to challenge the validity of the program of a specific local school district as conforming to the aims of the court-directed mandate. Currently, we can see a secondary process with the incorporation of state policies for implementation of the acts. In some states, state education agencies have taken the responsibility of identifying target populations for bilingual education programs (Leibowitz, 1980).

Thus, the establishment of bilingual education policies and practices in the United States has taken several stages described above and depicted in Figure 1.

The conditions surrounding and the factors motivating the inception of current bilingual education policies and programs in Perú have been quite different from those just outlined for the

Court decision establishes precedent and directive for bilingual education
Congress passes bilingual education acts
State education departments initiate programs (identify LEP/NEP students)
Local districts establish bilingual education programs
Private legal action is taken against civil rights violation

Figure 1. The Establishment of Bilingual Education Policies and Programs in the United States

United States. The first major difference is that the initiatives for establishing the present programs came solely from the central government and not from court actions initated by individual citizens on the basis of violated civil rights. Prior to the Peruvian Education Act of 1972, there were no legal suits brought by citizens or citizen groups claiming that their basic rights to equal educational opportunity had been violated by the failure of the school to teach in their native language. There is, in fact, no law in Perú comparable to the United States Civil Rights Act of 1964. Nor is there anything equivalent to the United States Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment.

Although there has been a tradition of positive government policy toward bilingual education programs in Perú, in order to account for the current motivation to establish such comprehensive bilingual education and the innovative form those programs are taking, we must look solely at the sociopolitical ideology of the Peruvian governments of the 1970s, which included the following as goals of the society:

1. The achievement of political, economic, and cultural independence in the international community.

2. The consequent necessity of the sociopolitical integration of the heretofore unintegrated nonmestizo populations as a means of achieving the first goal.

In other words, to become an economically developed, technologically advanced nation, the current Peruvian government believes that it cannot do without having a polity—that is, a national citizenry—that includes all sectors of the population. In order to achieve this second goal, it was thought necessary to better integrate the populations linguistically, and consequently, to establish a new bilingual education policy and program through a bilingual education act (Escobar, 1972, 1978).

Thus we can visualize the process of institutionalization of the current bilingual education policies and practices in Perú, in contrast to those of the United States, as depicted in Figure 2. Not only is there a great difference between the United States and Perú in the way bilingual education policies and practices get initiated, but these differences can also be seen in the implementation and administration of bilingual education programs in at least two ways. First, in the United States, the responsibility for initiating bilingual education programs rests with the state education agencies and local school boards. In Perú, however, the decision to establish a bilingual education program in any given community is made by the central government after it has undertaken research and reconnaissance to determine the needs of the local communities. Second, related to this fact is the way in which the federal government and local school districts participate in programs already underway. In the United States, the major objective of the federal government is funding, as both Molina (1978) and González (1978) have mentioned. Funding is provided, of course, not only at the initiative of a school district or individual (for example, for a demonstration research project on bilingual education). But in Perú, the responsibility of the central government, through the Ministry of Education, extends to planning and administering the entire program. The government does not give funds to local school districts and individuals to administer; it administers them.

In Perú, there is a curriculum of bilingual education established centrally by the Ministry of Education. This situation differs in two ways from the situation in the United States. First, in the United States the curriculum for bilingual education consists of the same courses as the regular curriculum, but it is

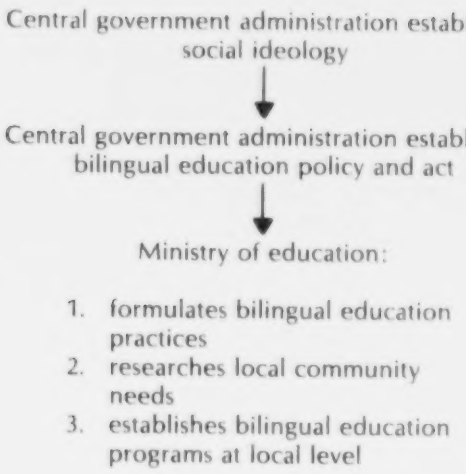
Central government administration establishes social ideology
Central government administration establishes bilingual education policy and act
Ministry of education:
1. formulates bilingual education practices
2. researches local community needs
3. establishes bilingual education programs at local level

Figure 2. The Establishment of Bilingual Education Policies and Programs in Perú

taught in the students' native language, and as such, it is an adjunct program. In Perú, however, the bilingual education curriculum is at the core of the program. Second, in the United States the bilingual education program is thought of as remedial, much like the Head Start Program, for students who are linguistically disadvantaged and in some way culturally "lacking." In Perú, the program is thought of as augmenting the set of language skills that students already have from their native community.

Thus in the United States, there is wide variation in the kinds and quality of bilingual education programs from one state to another; and from school district to school district—for example, in terms of how the student's native language will or will not be maintained and how his or her second language, English, will be developed—because the initiative in both establishing and planning the programs is left in the hands of local school district officials (Bratt Paulston, 1980). As a result, within the system, in the United States, room is left for further litigation if the program does not meet the minority language community's felt civil rights to equal educational opportunity.

It might seem from this description that the Peruvian case is totally centralized and might produce programs that are inflexible

in response to local needs. But when we compare the criteria for qualifying teachers and selecting materials, it seems otherwise. In the Peruvian system, a teacher in the bilingual education program (for example, Quechua-Spanish) must (1) be a native speaker of Quechua; (2) have been born and raised in the region; (3) be a fluent Spanish speaker, graduated from college, and accredited as a teacher; and (4) have taught at least five years in rural areas of the region. In addition, in Perú, the creation and selection of instructional materials in the different localities are responsibilities of the local bilingual program teachers and teacher trainers. This process allows for teaching flexibility, which corresponds to the area dialects.

In order to see the differences between the meaning of bilingual education policies and practices in the two societies, we need to examine the relative status of the languages involved. In the United States there is, of course, just one official, national language—English—and numerous nonofficial languages. In Perú in 1975, Quechua was made a national language, equal with Spanish. In concrete terms, this meant the following:

1. An official alphabetic writing system was adopted for Quechua and a commitment was made to incorporate a Quechua literacy program as part of the bilingual education program. This part of the program necessitated researching and preparing six reference grammers and dictionaries for the six major dialect areas of Quechua spoken in the country (Ministry of Education, 1976).
2. Local and regional newspapers have been made bilingual in Quechua and Spanish. That is, there are articles in Quechua in the areas of national interest—ideology, education, agriculture, industry, and commerce.
3. Daily and weekly local, regional, and national radio programs in Quechua are available on the news, in music, and in festivities.

An initial response to these differences between the two bilingual education policies and practices might be to say that of course the programs are different because they grew out of totally different circumstances surrounding bilingualism in the two countries. That is, one might say that because the contact situation in Perú has been predominantly between two languages only—Spanish and Quechua—it is more easily resolved than in a situation like that of the United States. In the latter, there have been only small pockets of monolingual and bilingual minorities

speaking a wide range of languages in addition to English, while the vast majority of the polity is English monolingual. Thus we could not reasonably expect that an official status equal to English could be given to any of the multitude of minority languages spoken in the United States.

However, the differences between facts of formal structure involving the bilingual education policies and practices and their operation in Perú and the United States, between statuses of the languages involved, and between relative distribution of monolingual and bilingual populations are not all the differences we can account for. If we look more closely at the sociocultural-historical differences between the two societies, we will see how the history of the languages and their speakers produced both the situations toward which bilingual education policies and practices now respond and the terms of thinking that led to these responses.

SOCIOCULTURAL-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF LANGUAGE CONTACT AND ATTITUDES

The United States Case

If we had a motion picture cartograph of the language distribution and contact in North America corresponding roughly to the geographical boundaries of the United States from the initial stages of European immigration through the present, we would have something like the following.

The initial stage is characterized by intrusive European language communities—English, Spanish, French, Dutch, and so forth—during the 17th and 18th centuries, in contact with American Indian languages in various, often widely-separated locations. After the initial stage, English is made the official national language of the newly formed political entity occupying the eastern seaboard and extending increasingly inland during the 18th and 19th centuries. During this period, we can see three important processes occurring. First, the American Indian languages in contact with English begin to disappear from an ever-expanding area. Most simply cease to be spoken, though a few, like Cherokee, move westward to escape the inevitable results of the contact. Second, formation continues on a large scale of what is to become the only other major variant of English: Black English. Black English is a result of convergence developed from a different language base (Labov, 1969). The emergence of Black English could be observed throughout the southern half of the United States. Third, there is a gradual yielding of other

European language communities to the pervasiveness of English as those communities become increasingly incorporated into the United States polity. This process can be seen in areas like Florida, the southern parts of the Louisiana Purchase, and the Dutch-speaking portions of New York.

A new kind of contact situation intensified during the late 19th and 20th centuries, between established communities of English speakers and groups of newly-arrived speakers of other languages: Norwegian, Italian, German, Swedish, Polish, Yiddish, Chinese, Japanese, and so forth. In these cases, we can see initially non-English monolingualism, usually shifting to one-and-a-half generational bilingualism and finally to English monolingualism.

However, some groups of immigrants, for example Chinese speakers and some Yiddish speakers, had continuous immigration and a localized community; consequently, their languages have remained with rather more stable bilingualism (Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986).

In addition, the westward expansion of the late 19th century continued its eradicatory contact with American Indian languages and brought new contact with older, established communities of non-English speakers, most notably the Spanish speakers of the West and the Southwest.

Thus currently, we have not one but a large number of different social processes reflected in the various bilingual situations extant in the United States: the English-Black English contact situation; contact with the remaining, though numerically attenuated, American Indian language communities; and situations like the English-Spanish or English-Chinese contact where the nonofficial language has a long history within the United States and where there is a wide range of dialects in which it is spoken (Guthrie, 1983; Sánchez, 1983).

In understanding the plastic reshaping of processes of change in the United States language contact scene over the last 300 years, we must understand the attitudes about language that reflect social concepts of "humanness" on the part of members of, especially, the sociopolitically dominant English-speaking community. We have seen in United States society overall an almost entirely one-way dominance of English in language use. This may be due to three factors. First, there is a great sensitivity toward language use. That is, there is no casualness toward which language one uses in the United States. It is very

important to speak the "proper" language. Secondly, that attitude is supported by the feeling that there is only one acceptable language—English. Monolingualism is accepted as a normal situation in the United States. Being a non-English speaker in the United States society has meant being socially not quite as acceptable as the native English speakers. Third, there is, and has been historically, almost no structural effect on English of the various languages involved in the different kinds of contact situations (Hernández-Chávez, 1984).

The Peruvian Case

In contrast to the situation in the United States, in Perú both the nature of the bilingual situation and the conditions of contact relations between the language communities have been different.

Although the indigenous populations of the area that is now Perú represent a number of culturally distinct groups, speaking about 45 languages of 10 linguistic families—in a population of 4 million, 3.5 million speak Quechua and approximately 500,000 speak other languages (Oficina Nacional, 1974)—two historical factors have served to reduce the present situation to one of contact between two major languages. First, Quecha was the native language spoken by the largest number of people indigenous to the Andean area before European contact. Second, Quechua was the official language of the Inca Empire, and by virtue of this fact, had developed as a lingua franca over the entire area of what is now Ecuador, Perú, Colombia, Chile, and Argentina. Thus the bilingualism of Peruvian contact has involved ideologically only two languages: Spanish and Quechua.

This fact has had two important results. Although Spanish is currently monolingually spoken by a majority of the 16 million Peruanos, they represent only a slim majority of 60 percent. Quechua, on the other hand, is monolingually spoken by a large minority of 25 percent. An additional 21 percent of the population are bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers (Oficina Nacional, 1974). However, these figures, which are for the entire country, are somewhat misleading, because of the geographical distribution of the languages. Most of the monolingual Spanish speakers are concentrated in the coastal areas. If we look at the southern highlands districts, the percentage of monolingual Quechua speakers rises to between 87 and 95 percent, and the number of bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers correspondingly drops to between 5 and 15 percent (Escobar, 1978; Escobar, Matos

Mar, & Alberti, 1975). This contrasts dramatically with the distribution of bilingualism in the United States.

In order to understand further the current situation and attitudes toward bilingualism in Perú, we must also look at the historical development of relationships between the different social groups involved. The current situation with respect to both language distribution and bilingual education policies and practices arises from the historical development of social ideology and attitudes toward other languages prevailing in the contact situation (Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, 1983; Wachtel, 1973).

First of all, the Spanish colonizers of Perú did consider the native inhabitants of the area. While from our contemporary perspective, we would not applaud the Spanish colonists' aim of subjugating the native population, it produced a different kind of outcome from that occurring in the North American case. First, it meant that some degree of relationship was possible between the two populations. Second, it meant that the native populations were accorded a degree of human identity. This situation was augmented by the proselytizing aims of the Catholic Church. Furthermore, the fact that Quechua was the language of a socially complex, stratified, expansive theocratic state—the Inca Empire—allowed the Iberian colonists to accord it a degree of prestige that the North American colonists did not give to any of the native languages they encountered.

If we had a motion picture cartograph of the language distribution and contact of the Peruvian situation over time and parallel to that just outlined for the United States, we would see an initial stage of intrusive European colonization during the late 16th and 17th centuries between a group of Iberian Spanish speakers (socially *españoles*) and speakers of Quechua and other indigenous languages (socially *nativos*).

The period from the 17th through the 18th centuries saw a gradual, though expanding, social merging of the original populations—*españoles* and *nativos*. The social product of these two original ethnic categories was the emergence of a new socioethnic category: the *mestizo*.

Finally, the political revolutions of the 19th century saw the establishment of a national identity—*peruano*—which is distinct from that of the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula. This period also marks the continued growing emergence of and cultural dominance by the socioethnic category of *mestizo*. This fact was accompanied by the parallel development of a national lan-

guage—Peruvian Spanish—that became increasingly distinct from Iberian Spanish. Peruvian Spanish is a hybrid language, a result of the long, stable, and intense contact between, initially, Iberian Spanish and Quechua. Peruvian Spanish is strongly marked by Quechua syntax and phonology. This process has continued and intensified during the 20th century.

Figures 3 and 4 exemplify, in the first columns, some of the terms for socioethnic categories of persons in the United States and Perú and, in the second columns, the way in which these correspond to language identities. In the United States the term "American" has two meanings: (1) one of national identity; and (2) that ethnic category of citizens who are tokens par excellence of the identity, that is, not members of any other of the many "foreign" ethnic groups. The national language, English, is the language identity of the group. In Perú, on the other hand, the inclusive term for national identity, *peruano*, does not correspond to any of the terms designating the narrower ethnic identities. Also, the national language identities are multiple. That is, both Spanish and Quechua speakers are *peruanos*.

The existence in Perú of the socioethnic category *mestizo*, the social product of *españoles* (a category which no longer is present in Peruvian society) and *nativos*, contrasts with the situation in the United States. In the United States there is no socioethnic category of persons that is the social product of two or more categories. Although the word *mestizo* does occur in English, it is a term for a racial category with no socioethnic implications. That is, in the United States, a person who is a racial mestizo has the ethnic identity of one or the other parent.

IMPLICATIONS FOR LONG-TERM EFFECTS OR RESULTS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION POLICIES AND PRACTICES

In the previous sections, I have attempted to demonstrate the ways in which the sociocultural attitudes that members of language communities have toward language codes and their use are factors of overwhelming importance in determing the stance taken toward national bilingual education policies and practices. In this section, I consider the implications for long-term effects or results of these policies and programs as facets of the wider and ongoing language contact situations.

These results can be considered in terms of two dimensions: first, the final linguistic state of the societies, in terms of whether

	Ethnic Identity	Language
1.	American (national identity)	English
1.1	American	English
1.2	Mexican-American	(Mexican) Spanish (±English)
1.3	Chinese-American	Chinese (±English)
1.4	Italian-American	Italian (±English)
1.5	Japanese-American	Japanese (±English)
1.6	etc.	
1.7	American Indians	
1.7.1	Navajo	Navajo (±English)
1.7.2	Apache	Apache (±English)
1.7.3	etc.	

Figure 3. Taxonomy of Ethnic Categories of Social Person in the United States in Conjunction with Language Identities

they are to be bilingual or monolingual; and second, the degree of mutual versus unidirectional influence of the languages involved.

In the United States, bilingual education policies and practices have as their aim facilitating a transition from monlingualism in a non-English language (such as Spanish), through bilingualism on an individual level, to ultimate English monolingualism on the community level. Bilingualism is seen as transitional and the educational programs offered to LEP and NEP students are transitional bilingual education programs, with the ideal end being English monolingualism for the entire population.

In Perú, the aims of the bilingual education policies and practices, as officially stated, are not to produce a nation of monolingual Spanish speakers, but rather one of bilingual Spanish-Quechua speakers. Politicians may argue that such a situation is not a stable one—that there will inevitably be a stress toward Spanish monolingualism. I can cite those instances of currently existing multilingual nation states in the world, particularly those of Europe. Given that a significant minority of the population in Perú is currently Quechua monolingual and another large minority is Quechua-Spanish bilingual, the contexts in which Spanish is learned and used for most bilingual speakers are public ones, while Quechua remains for private

Ethnic Identity		Language
1.	Peruano (national identity)	Spanish and/or Quechua
1.1	Mestizo	Spanish and/or Quechua
1.2	Nativo/campesino	
1.2.1	Quechua	Quechua
1.2.2	Aymara	Aymara
1.2.3	Campa	Campa
1.2.4	Aguaruna	Aguaruna
1.2.5	etc.	

Figure 1. Taxonomy of Ethnic Categories of Social Person in Perú in Conjunction with Language Identities

contexts. Also, inasmuch as there is no derogation of Quechua usage, it seems reasonable to expect that bilingual usage on the basis of different social functions for each code—much like the Swiss situation—may continue for a long time (Gumperz, 1982). Comparative figures from the 1961, 1972, and 1983 censuses in Perú present striking evidence that current language shifts are not in the direction of increasing Spanish monolingualism.

However, even should the ultimate language scene in Perú become one of Spanish monolingualism—and if so, in how many years?—the nature of the monolingualism involved would be quite different from the monolingualism in the United States. From the evidence available, it seems that, unlike English in the United States, Spanish in Perú has been and continues to be extensively influenced by Quechua (Escobar, 1978; Luján, Minaya, & Sankoff, 1983, 1984; Pozzi-Escot, 1972).

In the United States, it is a striking social fact that the non-English languages in the various contact situations have had almost no influence on English. This fact has been because of the attitudes toward language use in conjunction with the direction of bilingualism, that is, monolingual English speakers in contact with bilingual speakers of a native language plus English.

In Perú, bilingualism has proceeded in both directions. That is, there is both a native Spanish plus Quechua-as-a-second-language bilingualism and native Quechua plus Spanish-as-a-second-language bilingualism. The result has been that a distinctive national language has emerged: Peruvian Spanish. Peruvian Spanish is a national variant of a more universal

Spanish that consists of a range of speech styles, each manifesting different syntactic, phonological, and lexical influences from Quechua (Escobar, 1976, 1978).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion, the aim of the language policies and practices in both the United States and Perú is the social integration of members of ethnic groups that have been in the past at least partially socially disenfranchised. However, the differences between the bilingual education policies and programs in the two societies, growing out of attitudes toward bilingualism versus monolingualism on the part of the socially dominant group in each society, reveal what each society feels is required in order to achieve that integration. In Perú, social integration is being achieved by extending higher status to the culturally second language, a process that simultaneously broadens the societal definition of each person. In the United States, on the other hand, the establishment and operation of bilingual education policies and programs have largely proceeded on the assumption that one can be a "real" member of American society only by becoming a monolingual English speaker, thus giving up one's native language and ethnic identity (Hernández-Chávez, 1984; Ogbu, and Matute-Bianchi, 1986).

We can see even from this comparison of the sociocultural-historical determinants of the attitudes in the United States toward non-English speakers that, because this attitude does not occur in all other societies, it is not a necessary adjunct to bilingual education policies and practices. What would happen to the bilingual education in the United States if the monolingual and bilingual non-English speakers in our communities were not seen as "lesser Americans" and "linguistically disadvantaged?" What expansions in our thinking about ourselves as members of a national community would take place if we saw the native speakers of other languages in our communities as bringing a valuable resource to be shared in realizing the potential for the next generation for becoming multilingual in the other important languages of the world?

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